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MOUNTAIN LIFE and WORK

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Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Conference of Southern
Mountain Workers, presented in the order of the program.

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"ALL ELSE"

John O. Gross

Six years ago a citizen of Kentucky prophesied that unless something were done to aid the Kentucky mountaineer in his struggle for existence, he would become a national problem. When the report of the Kentucky Relief Commission was made for the first ten months of its existence it was found that 49.5 per cent of all the families in the mountain counties of Kentucky had been aided in one way or another. Perhaps it can be said further that the fulfilment of prophecy was caused by two consecutive drouths and by a crisis of gigantic proportions in our economic order. These, no doubt, largely neutralized the little help that was being given to offset the forces that prompted the prediction.

It will be recognized from what has just been said that this article cites studies made of the rural life in the mountains of Kentucky. These studies, no doubt, will vary from those of other parts of the total mountain area. While some of the general conclusions given may be applicable to many parts of the total Appalachian area, it is well to remember that particular sections call for particular approaches. It would be presumptuous, since there are no data for comparison, to say that these days are the worst ever known to the mountains of Kentucky. However, these are the worst known to this generation, and more disastrous than mountain workers had believed could occur.

The squalor and poverty in which the mountains of Kentucky are plunged beggar description. A trip through the region shows that many kinds of structures—stables, cabins, pole pens with roofs, dilapidated, abandoned houses—offer shelter to the many families who have recently returned to the land or to the poorer families who never left. The standard of living is so low that it is difficult for any who have not personally observed it to comprehend.

A few citations from some recent studies will show the plight in which the rural mountaineer has been thrust. One study which observed the poorest found that these families spent 81 per cent of their income for food, 6 per cent for rent, 8 per cent for clothes, 4 per cent for fuel, leaving 1 per cent for "all else." Other studies show that the failure of the mountain man to have anything for his needs other than physical is not due to extravagance. A survey made in Knox County by Professor W. D. Nicholls, Head of the Department of Rural Economics at the University of Kentucky, found that the total cash income of a group of representative families amounted to less than \$45.00 per family. One-half of this total amount was received from the Kentucky Relief Commission in the form of scrip. The survey reported that the average dwelling house was worth \$110.00 and that the entire capital, including the land, buildings, live stock, tools, and other items of equipment was \$551.00. Couple with this another study made in 1932 by Earl Mayhew, County Agent of Knox County, Kentucky, and see the deplorable condition as further revealed. He found that 55 per cent of the families classified as rural did not own a work animal; that 40 per cent did not have a cow; that 40 per cent did not own a hog; and that 11 per cent did not have any chickens. Compared with the other poor classes in the nation the mountain farmer is right at the bottom of the list. The day laborer, after he has cared for life's essentials, has a sum ranging from 15 per cent to 25 per cent for the things that are not bread.

Edwin Markham wrote his "Man With the Hoe" after he had seen Millet's painting of the toiler who had been brutalized by labor. The mountain farmer, entirely consumed in his quest for the body's needs, is becoming "dead to rapture and despair." Emptiness is there, and hopelessness.

Concerned only with the necessities of life, he, like the "Man With the Hoe," finds "the rift of dawn and the reddening of the rose" to be meaningless. How can it be otherwise when there is but 1 per cent for "all else"?

Keep in mind that the "all else" represents the intangibles and imponderables which put meaning into life and account for the leavening and civilizing influences in society, like the church, the school, the library, reading materials. These things are imperative for a well-balanced life and are supposed to be complementary to daily toil. In this day the expressions "labor" and "leisure" are often put over against each other. To some, leisure may denote indolence or play, but it contains in its fuller meaning what we think of as "all else." Interlocked with labor it furnishes balance to life. Each is strengthened by the other's strength and weakened by the other's weakness.

George Bernard Shaw has said that poverty and not wealth is the root of all evil. That the evils of the mountains are intimately connected with the growth of poverty is evident. The last vestiges of an inherent culture are being erased by forces that can only be combated by a rise in the economic tide. Unless there is found some help for the dreadful and depressing poverty of the hills, there is but little chance of an effectual interest in the things comprising "all else."

All of these things have been said many times at the annual meetings of the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers. In studying the papers presented in previous years one notices that the major problem is regarded as an economic one. The inability of the rural mountaineer to lift his economic level with that of the rest of the nation has resulted in an insulation from those life-giving currents which are found only in social intercourse, and in an undeveloped educational and religious life. This conference can continue to say that the barren economic life of the mountains seriously impairs the creation and cultivation of life's "all else."

While it has been previously recognized that the basic problem of the mountains is the economic one, there has never been a time when mountain workers are as conscious of a source of help toward its solution as today. Past days of agitation and discussion have not been in vain, and now if a program is made to meet the present

situation, more can be accomplished to destroy the depressing poverty during this decade than in the past three.

This statement is made because of the conviction now found among leaders that the solution to the problem is too great for mountain workers and mountain institutions alone. Mountain life can only come into its own through a program of rehabilitation and construction. This task is too big for any group or state, and can be accomplished only by help coming from the national government. This fact has already been recognized by the administration in Washington. A direct step was taken toward rehabilitation with the organization of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and this corporation has awakened among the people of the mountains of Tennessee and North Carolina hope for life in its more satisfying forms.

Another governmental agency charged with the helping of the economically depressed mountaineer is the Division of Subsistence Homesteads of the Department of the Interior. This, or another organization with larger resources incorporated for the same purpose, is the Moses to which the surplus population in the steep, non-productive, submarginal lands of the mountain area must look to lead them out to a more productive land. There is little hope for the development of the "all else" of life on land so steep that it is suitable only for permanent forests. In the rugged section at the head of Stinking Creek in Knox County, Kentucky, it was found that the average cash income of the families averaged \$80.00. There is a high correlation between poverty and the scarcity of tillable level land for farming. Less than .5 per cent of Leslie County, Kentucky, is bottom land. That county has the largest percentage of its population on relief of any county in Kentucky, and the limited opportunity for abundant life there has long been proverbial. In the whole region where subsistence farming is impossible, it is now evident that it is necessary to help a large proportion of the population to move to a more favorable location. This, as Professor W. D. Nicholls of the University of Kentucky says, will have to be done slowly and perhaps on a voluntary basis. A considerable period will be required so as to avoid abrupt social change. The so-called unwillingness of the mountaineer to move out in order to better his con-

dition has been greatly exaggerated. Studies made show that he has done it in the past and is doing it now in some mountain sections. An attitude study made at Union College found that many evinced not merely a willingness but an eagerness to move.

The depression has brought the mountain farmer to a different attitude toward farming. Once a county agent said, "I can see how this county can be developed, but I cannot make the people see it." With the loss of income from coal and timber there has come a desire to see. This is a day when the mountain farmer is teachable, and is stripped of some of the heavy layers of pioneer individualism. In Knox County, Kentucky, a plan is being worked in a model way to help farmers secure the maximum returns from their crop lands. It was found by a survey that at least 30 per cent of the bottom land in that county is too wet for cultivation since the water table along the creeks, raised by obstructions, stands within a few inches of the surface of the land. On this land, willows, bull-rushes, water birch, swamp alders thrive, but crops for human foods will not. Cleaning the stream beds, cutting the brush and trees from the banks, and in some instances straightening the creeks has lowered the water level in many acres, and that land has been so treated that its productiveness averages well with that of other parts of the state. Such a program to reclaim all wet land would thus increase acreage and productiveness so that hillside farming would be eliminated. The lower slopes could then be utilized for pasture and meadows, and the steeper lands could be returned to forests.

There must accompany these efforts in economic rehabilitation and land reclamation a plan of education for the people for whom the change is being made. They will need to understand why the water levels in the creeks should be lowered, so that they can help to keep them clean. They will need to understand further why a system of farming that includes only the growing of corn must give way to a system that includes a larger variety of stable food crops.

Such a plan of rehabilitation, including both the land reclamation and the educational program to accompany it, is possible without a much larger expenditure, if larger at all than is now being made by the relief and kindred organizations in

the mountains. There needs to be a shift from immediate alleviation to correction. With the money now being spent in most of the mountain counties for direct and work relief, the land reclamation can be completed. The present expenditure for administration and investigation would support the educational program. The relief organizations should select their workers with regard to qualifications to promote a program of adult education. From the list of unemployed teachers and college-trained persons it is possible to find individuals who can direct the recipients of relief into significant and effective remedial practices. The repaying of the vast sums of money now being spent for relief will be done more willingly if they are used for something other than immediate existence. Give the mountain man a chance to earn the sustenance money in meaningful labor, and he will be able to make his mountain area yield him a margin for "all else," and at the same time he will be spared the ravages now being made on his character and self-respect by direct relief.

The task for the religious, educational, and social workers who are now in the mountains will not end if the government proceeds to do for the mountains what is its evident social obligation. In fact, the future of the mountains will depend greatly on a correlation of the efforts of the present mountain workers and the governmental program. Mountain life in its entirety needs rehabilitating, and without a concomitant program to reconstruct and build the church, school, and social life, the objective of giving an abundant life to mountain people will not be realized.

The mountain school, as we know it now, must be brought to a new understanding of its purpose if the mountain man is to enjoy life's best things. As it is now it is almost negligible in creating an interest in the beautiful, the clean, and the good. The children attend schools in drab buildings where there is little or nothing about the physical surroundings to suggest beauty. The teacher in all probability comes from a home with few if any cultural advantages. In one chance out of three he has secured the position not because of ability, fitness, or training, but through kinship, purchase, or political pull. This fact alone, apart from the others mentioned, places the child in an atmosphere that is morally depressing and

harmful to mountain life. From these poorly-taught schools less than half of the children who start in the first grade reach the eighth. They may be classed as literates and thus escape the future campaigns to stamp out illiteracy, but they have no sense of personal responsibility and drift without moral or mental moorings to become moral menaces. They terrorize whole communities with their promiscuous shooting and threats of barn burnings; they make evening church services or other community gatherings impossible. In Pulaski County, Kentucky, during the week of March 14, seventeen were indicted on one bill and sentenced to jail for disturbing public worship. These boys are the fruits of schools dominated by political nepotism and bartering.

Over against this kind of educational system place the better settlement schools of our mountain area. These generally develop a desire for an education, reach the homes of the pupils, and secure the sympathetic support of the parents. They exert a refining influence upon their communities; these centers usually possess more of the "all else" of life than any other places apart from the county seat towns.

Mr. Campbell years ago indicated that the greatest service of the church school to the mountains would be in making possible a new type of school that would serve the country. This school, he said, would meet the economic needs of the Highlands and open the way for a richer and fuller life. Some little progress has been recorded in this direction since the statement was made, but not nearly as much as there could have been if the leaders in this field had visualized a wider program than that offered by our public school system. In many cases settlement schools have followed public schools rather than led. They have overemphasized the traditional college preparatory curriculum and failed to introduce new social science and vocational studies.

The main factor in the success of these settlement projects has been the centralization of the interests of the people. By establishment of the school, church, store, and often the health center in one location, the main interests of the people are centered there. These together generate life, and from the center ebbs and flows inspiration. Where a man goes to church in one place, to the

store in another, and sends his children to school in another, his interests are divided so that it is hard to create solidarity. It is obvious that when a church or other organization goes into a community and with its additional resources helps to develop those resources latent in the community its educational responsibility ends when that community or county reaches the place where it can take over the educational work. Recognition of this would make it possible to institute a similar program in another place or places and by unifying the interests of the people establish a chain of centers across the area in which they work. Past experience indicates that county boards of education will give willing support to such work. This plan would also aid in correcting the nepotism and politics connected with the public school program. Do not be misled as to the reason why the settlement schools have enjoyed such a large freedom from political maneuverings. The major reason is that the people themselves give the protection. When they believe that something worth while is being done by an organization they protect and support it.

The indigenous mountain church has proved itself incapable of giving the true incentive for "all else." Its houses of worship are unpainted, unkept, single-room buildings. There is nothing about them to suggest worship. The church of the mountains is still closely connected with pioneer days. The one-room buildings reveal no interest in religious education. The entrance into the Christian life is still through an emotional conversion, and the entire emphasis is placed on this, with little or no interest in training and culture. The preaching is in line with the theological positions held in the first half of the nineteenth century. Christian ethics placing its emphasis upon the value of life, upon social justice, and upon integrity, is not the passion of the preacher. Most of the preaching and singing of the services center about the world to come. The one cure for the present hardships is the escape from them to a better place. A protracted meeting is held to enlist converts for the next world, and when the revival is over the program of the church, except for intermittent services, is ended.

It has been said often that leaders are needed to give the mountain people the cultural and spiritual values of the church. There can be little

disposition to debate this statement. Yet there are in the mountains today a large number of trained young people, products of colleges and settlement schools, who are unable to register their influence because of the antipathy of the religious leaders to trained workers. Preachers, named by the Rev. L. C. Kelley, Pineville, Kentucky, "Mock Humility Preachers," have created such a strong sentiment against training that these young people, ready to serve in a large way, are helpless. As long as this is true in so many parts, it is going to be difficult to strengthen the church that now exists. It is impossible to get something different and helpful without grafting new life to the old trunk.

It is evident that a new stream of religious life must flow through the mountains. No lasting change can be made without the dynamic furnished by the Christian religion. The changing of the socio-economic condition demands a more rational religious setting if religion is to have a place in the culture of the people. Increasing the number of centers, as mentioned in connection with education, will increase the opportunity for religious service. This will shift the responsibility upon the local educational units for school work and make a larger place for the trained preacher. Since the unchurched of our rural counties range from 50 per cent to 92 per cent of the population, it can be quickly observed that the program to reach the vast area must be enlarged. Such a program should be aggressively religious and should follow the suggestion coming out of the long discussion on "Re-thinking Missions" to separate evangelistic work from every kind of effort that is mere bait.

In this same connection churches in mountain county seats need to take larger responsibilities in helping solve the mountain religious problems. In the county seat towns the leading denominations have churches that compare favorably with churches of the same size in towns of the same population elsewhere. Located as they are in the midst of a great missionary field it is distressing to find that their missionary activities are limited to making a subscription or contribution to a mission board and sometimes studying a book on

missionary work. It is not possible for these churches to discharge the entire obligation of the church to the mountain people, but it is reasonable to believe that if they would add their personal services to mission-board gifts much more could be accomplished.

Likewise, mountain workers need to create a consciousness of mountain problems in the mountain area. This can be done through sectional meetings for discussion. In all our county seats and towns exists a dangerous complacency toward the underprivileged people of the mountains. Citizens sometimes but a generation removed from the rural territory live in indifference toward the plight of their own people. Their spirit frequently neutralizes the enthusiasm of trained mountain youth and makes them unconcerned about bettering conditions.

Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky, and the Schoolmaster's Club of the upper Cumberland Valley for the past two years have been conducting an Institute of Public Affairs where business and professional men from six mountain counties come together to discuss problems peculiar to southeastern Kentucky. These meetings have resulted already in wide publicity being given to local conditions, and they have increased the conviction among the leaders that the mountain problem is "ours" and that "we" must do something about it.

Because of the concern of the government about the mountaineer's welfare, the opportunity for the mountain worker today to aid in correcting poverty and giving some of life's "all else," is greater than in any previous time. The work that is now being conducted by churches, foundations, and private organizations should be carefully correlated with the plans of the government. All of the present programs need to be carefully investigated so that the most effective means of making the mountain life meaningful and satisfying will be used. More approaches toward the solution of mountain problems should be made from within, and now dormant resources of leadership and property should be used.

New Trends in Family and Child Welfare Work With Mountaineers

Florence S. Adams

The term "mountaineers" in our subject would seem, according to the significance which this appellation usually carries, to indicate that our discussion is to be limited to a portion of the mountain people who are in need of specialized case work service in connection with family and child welfare because they correspond to the dependent group in any community. Such is not the case. Our mountains have always contained a comparatively segregated group, unaffected by prosperity, from time immemorial wresting a meager existence from the soil which has tended to keep all on the same economic level, differentiated only by basic intelligence. The mountains have always presented a need for social service, adapted to these peculiar conditions, broad enough to enter into every phase of the community life, and designed to overcome native apathy.

The need for such service has been rendered acute by the introduction of Federal relief, for the so-called "rugged individualism" of our mountain people has been nothing more or less than a stoic endurance of hardships, and a lack of self expression which we of the outside world have not understood. I shall never forget my amused and sympathetic realization of the effects of deprivation and solitude upon personality when a mountain woman attempted to explain her attraction to a certain type of religion, in which conversion was announced by rolling on the floor and other manifestations generally foreign to her natural reserve. She said, "I jes' get wore out, settin' at home, lookin' at the mountings, waitin' for somethin' to happen." Her evident willingness to try anything to break monotony was a more healthful attitude than the apathy evidenced by others.

Federal relief, then, has broken down willingness to endure, in that it has introduced a knowledge of an easier mode of life. This trend cannot be considered good unless the economic order can be changed to help these families attain by

their own efforts the benefits now being obtained through relief. Please do not misunderstand me. I think it is a splendid thing that malnutrition is being corrected, but I believe that we need to take the long view on our problem. Plans must be made for the continuance of minimum standards of diet, and we must prepare to administer to needs other than the physical. Certainly we cannot expect federal relief to continue indefinitely inasmuch as we confidently expect administrative recovery measures to be effective. Yet, as we all know, prosperity for the United States does not necessarily mean prosperity for the mountains, if it is to be the old pre-depression industrial prosperity. Even a revised industrial prosperity, with a more even distribution of profits, would not affect isolated communities which are hybrid in that they are neither industrial nor strictly agricultural. Just as certainly it will be impossible for county aid to replace federal aid, as the county coffers are empty. The withdrawal of federal relief will necessitate a change in the economic order. The Tennessee Valley experiment may be the answer for a portion of the mountain area, and it will probably furnish a precedent for further experimentation.

Although we are all convinced of the necessity for change, it is impossible to determine any method which will apply indiscriminately to all people living in the mountain area. We need to remember that the case work method demands individual treatment rather than mass treatment. The need of individual consideration of the economic problem in the mountains is just as acute as the need for case work treatment of the individual. For instance, certain organizations are now convinced that the only answer to the economic problem lies in the transplanting of families. My experience in family work has led me to the conclusion that it is very difficult satisfactorily to transplant families. In industrial areas we had much experience in efforts to remove negro

families back to rural areas where they might engage in farming. This was only attempted in families having no hope of a return to industry. Only in those cases where a family group could be reunited with relatives in the agricultural area and where the preference and the decision of the family determined the plan, was it successful. This illustrates once again a new trend in case work, that is, that plans must always be made with and not for the people we are trying to help. Applying this principle to the transplanting of families we might decide that certain groups who have been brought into the mountains through choice from other sections, as miners, might now be removed to sections where acceptable farm lands could be secured, or where other employment might be available. The native mountaineer, reared in an atmosphere where he has unavoidably acquired a love for the glory of his mountains, cannot be considered in the same light, because he is an entirely different type. He is an individualist, and despite the apathy he displays at times, has a distinct sturdiness of character. This very individualism and love of his native heath prompts a return to it when he has gone away to search for educational advantages. He returns, often with a desire to help his fellows to remain in the mountains, and secure some of the advantages he has gained from the outside. This individualism should be taken into account in any plan for removal of mountain families to more desirable sections for farming purposes. The conclusion we are bound to make is that all families cannot be removed from the mountains, and that efforts along the lines of keeping them where they are must be continued.

It is interesting to speculate on the personality changes which the measures planned to alleviate the depression, but bringing a first semblance of prosperity to the mountains, have wrought in family life. In urban areas, social workers have striven to keep from the children a realization that the family needs were met by the father on a relief basis, fearing the effect on the man of a loss of self respect. It has been difficult to accomplish this because work relief wages could not maintain the family on the level to which they had been accustomed. Conversely, raising the standard of living through relief funds may prove the beginning of a trend toward increased dependence,

and a loss of the respect which the mountain father has always had for himself, and insisted upon from his children.

Some mountain workers have felt very keenly that the effects of federal relief have all been bad. They have discounted the improvement in health, and have stated that the bad personality effect of dependence outweighs any good which has come from relief. They fear that the ability of the mountain father to manage somehow through his own efforts has been destroyed and that when relief is withdrawn he will be in a much worse position than in the beginning. Most mountain workers are unalterably opposed to direct relief, and are viewing with alarm the discontinuance of C. W. A. This alarm is simply another indication that you must be prepared to continue to plan with the mountaineer to meet his own needs on his native heath. It is beside the point to argue that the problem has been rendered more acute. It cannot be denied that some benefit has been gained, and that the time to plan more wisely toward a self-sufficing economy is now. Personally, I feel that much of the alarm is needless. In the native mountaineer we have our purest American strain. The hardihood which has been developed through generations could not be completely erased with a few months of easier living.

To conserve the values of family solidarity and individualism which undoubtedly exist, and to develop wholesome personalities through a guided participation in community planning, will be two new trends in mountain family welfare work. Barter of products and services offers an excellent medium for this, and leads naturally into the field of cooperative marketing. In urban areas, self-help activities have been rightly used as emergency measures, representing an attempt to supplement inadequate relief. They are not designed to take the place of wage adjustments for the employed, although they should lead to wiser utilization of leisure time. In the mountains where conditions will be almost primitive for years to come, barter should be used to help establish a self-sufficing economy, on a permanent basis. The possibilities for personality development in a program designed to promote social life through interchange of services and products far outweigh the minor consideration of a substitution for income.

For years mountain schools and centers have focused their attention upon the development of crafts. We are all familiar with the beautiful things which have been made by mountain people in these schools where competent supervision is available. The keen sense of the beautiful which seems to be a part of the make-up of mountain people has been a tremendous factor in developing the crafts. It has long been hoped that this work would provide a steady source of income. This does not seem practicable unless a cooperative association with an insistence upon quality of work and a standard price can be formed. At present the great drawback to any realization of standards of quality and of price is the lack of a market. It would seem wiser for the time being to center efforts upon the making of things which the mountain people themselves can use and exchange with one another.

Training in the proper use of leisure, about which we hear so much in urban centers, is also one of the needs in the mountains. This is not a new trend, for it has been recognized by mountain workers since the inception of any sort of program in this area. It seems to me, however, that there is an attitude on the part of the worker toward the type of leisure time occupation which should be provided. In the past, efforts have been centered on crafts, and the philosophy has been that leisure time must necessarily be directed into useful channels. In recent years there is a tendency to use leisure time for folk dancing and for games as well as for useful arts. This is a healthful trend, as the right diversions during leisure have a powerful effect upon the personality of adults as well as children.

Working alone, as a rule, social workers in the mountain areas have never been troubled by attempts to differentiate between work with the family and work with the child. This is an advantage, as the problem child has been treated as a part of his family group, a principle now regarded as a new trend in other sections. The important thing is to be sure that the child is not lost in this group consideration. Accepting the verdict that "Johnnie never will amount to anything, because his father didn't," or "Johnnie must go to the Reform School because he steals," is not adequately meeting our problem. Mountain workers have necessarily had to place em-

phasis upon group training and group recreation; and this emphasis must be continued and increased. At the same time, the child must have individual treatment. Often unsuspected state resources through public welfare and health departments are available to assist in providing this individualized service. Failure to recognize the specific needs of children seems to be the chief weakness in our social programs of the past. The reason has perhaps been the general acceptance by workers of the philosophy of the parents, not to cope with any situation until it is forced upon their attention. Most of us have felt that if the necessities of food, clothing and an opportunity for "schooling" existed, delinquency should not occur. There has been little time and perhaps not enough patience and skill to recognize and understand the underlying causes of symptomatic anti-social behavior. We cannot all possess this skill, but we can strive toward more satisfactory parent-child relationships by teaching tolerance and partnership on the delightful level of common sense, common interests, and every day tasks.

Many of us can think back to individual instances where we casually recognized anti-social trends, but did nothing about it. I remember the case of a mountain boy whose mother used to say, "Hiram shore is queer at times, but he's a powerful hand to do a day's chores." The training which Hiram's muscles had received enabled him later to destroy his neighbor with his bare hands. What a shame that I did not make it my business to see that his mind was equally trained to ensure mental health! Hiram was not a feeble-minded boy, in need of the care given at a school for defectives. He was a bright child, the victim of too much solitude, wrong family relationships, and a dwarfing of the play instinct. There are hundreds of others like him, presenting potentialities for great good as well as crime. Fortunately, living close to nature is a powerful antidote for delinquent tendencies, and children presenting serious behavior problems are relatively rare. Those who do present such problems should be given the best service available through county or state.

Child neglect, typified usually by parent unwillingness to send to school, or to safeguard health, is a delicate and difficult problem. Delicate, because parents are quick to resent any in-

fringement of parental authority, and friendship between parent and worker must be preserved. Difficult, because the honest conviction that mountain people possess concerning the vested property rights of the parent in the child is an almost insurmountable obstacle. Added to this you have the religious fervor of the parent who believes that illness of any kind is due to a decision rendered by a divine Providence. I shall never forget my experience with mountain people on the subject of smallpox vaccination. I am sure you are all familiar with "Ef it's the Lord's will that Susie must have the smallpox, I kain't change it by havin' her arm punctured, and it ain't no use to ast me!" This introduction of the Lord usually meant defeat to my cherished object, because I knew it was considered unseemly to argue about the Lord's position on any subject. These attitudes can never be changed except through gradual re-education of the parents by an infiltration of new ideas. It is not only the parents who need re-education, however. In safeguarding children we find that our county judges, who act as juvenile judges, do not quickly recognize child exploitation. We have a well-defined task here.

Should a new type of organization be created to effect these changes? To provide employment, to promote group activities, to stimulate initiative, to safeguard health, to give case work service through advice and treatment is a huge task, calling for diversified talents. Nevertheless, I believe that little change should be made in the present organizations serving these areas. The settlement or community house, serving as a center for activities, with an enlarged personnel, and a new vision as to the service required, seems to me best fitted to continue as the liaison between the home, the school and the state. The settlement of the

future will realize the need for a trained case worker on the staff, who can be the "social engineer" and the visiting housekeeper. This type of center will be the community forum, an integral part of community life. The old order must be superseded by a planned economy which will provide the education, recreation, vocational training, health protection, home and social life which we have reason to believe mountain people are eager to secure.

Recently I heard a prominent educator say that the future emphasis of education would be along more spiritual lines: spiritual in character-building toward wiser living, as well as in a religious sense. This statement was interesting, because I believe that social workers are beginning to recognize anew that spiritual values are a crying need in present day family life, a need which any social program designed to reconstruct the family must be prepared to meet. I have been interested in the work of the John C. Campbell School along these lines, as it seems to afford an excellent example.

When family life is at stake, when neglected and dependent children are involved, when we feel that we must go forward because a step backward would lose hard-won ground, it may seem foolish to counsel patience. Yet in all social programs it is dangerous to go faster than the community is prepared to follow. The most important trend we are dealing with, from every standpoint, is the one leading toward complete "client participation." In the mountains, as we have pointed out, this means participation of the entire community, as that comprises our "case load." Our program cannot hope to be successful unless this principle is observed.

CREATIVE LEISURE

Lynn Rohrbough

The fact that the subject "leisure" is given a place on the crowded schedule of this Mountain Workers' Conference indicates recognition of the tremendous problem which free time, whether it be "leisure" or its mockery, extreme unemployment, presents to our generation.

The term "recreation" in its original meaning would serve to indicate the varieties of experience which can be enjoyed in free time, but since that fine word has been mutilated by commercial exploiters, we might use the term "creative leisure" to get closer to the subject, considering first its definition, then a few concrete examples of available home-made activities which fit in with that concept.

The re-creative use of free time would seem to involve first of all personal participation, the opposite of a passive spectator's attitude. The very word "create" means to "produce, originate, or to combine existing materials into new forms." Dr. L. P. Jacks, famous English educator, holds that "the happiness that man's nature demands and craves is impossible until the creative part of him is awakened and satisfied."¹

Another much abused concept is "leisure." The goal of civilized man from the time Plato wrote his "Republic," it seemed almost within our grasp as one invention after another lightened men's labor; but now millions are finding the longed-for golden treasure turned into insecurity, unemployment. Leisure is more than a block of time free from work, it is a thing of the spirit, or, as Edman has it, "unhurried, pleasurable living among one's native enthusiasms." To get a proper picture of the scope and promise of leisure activity, we must pull down walls which now confine it to the gymnasium, to bowling alleys, stadiums, movies, or funny papers. As a thing of the spirit, it may have little to do with any of these, and much to do with all the areas which make up the full, abundant, all-around, well-integrated life.

The most satisfying concept of the inter-rela-

tion of recreation and all of life which I have ever found is that adopted by many philosophers in the Theory of Values: one view is that the purpose of human existence is the creation of values, that is, something eternally worth while. Similarly, the use of our leisure time for the enrichment of the whole of life can be checked by the degree to which these leisure pursuits create values. Briefly stated, these intrinsic values, good in themselves, are seven in number:² (1) bodily, (2) intellectual, (3) social, (4) character-building, (5) recreational, (6) aesthetic, (7) religious. To these we add an instrumental value, the economic, which gives us the means of acquiring many of the other and higher values.

With an hour to spare, it would be a fascinating by-path to check against these values the various concepts of the "good life" embodied in the Greek ideal of "the good, the true, the beautiful;" Cabot's familiar four points in "What Men Live By,"—work, play, love, worship. Even in the symbols of various organizations we find a partial idea of the values: the Y. M. C. A. triangle, "Four Square" programs, the trefoil of the Scouts, Wohelo, the four-leaf clover of the 4-H clubs, and so on.

Our task in building attitudes and activities for creative leisure is to see the whole picture and constantly work to fill in the neglected areas to make of life a balanced, harmonious whole. The greatest American lack is in the area of the aesthetic values. That is where we are starved. Some of the most rewarding results come through the pursuit of the fine arts—music, painting and sketching, sculpture, carving and allied crafts, dancing, drama, poetry.

In considering the creative impulse, we see social values all along the line; genuine arts and crafts have a social out-reach; drama, dancing and music are, on the art level, all socially creative. All self-made games and traditional forms of family play are intrinsically social. It should be emphasized that social education grows in small units, not in mobs. The family is the basic unit

1. Dr. L. P. Jacks, speaking on "Unemployment and Tomorrow's Leisure" at Toronto Recreation Congress, October, 1931.

2. Everett, Walter G. *Moral Values*, p. 182.

Skills which endure must be taught traditionally, carried into community life and transferred from generation to generation.

Intellectual values, too, are essential to recreation. As educational institutions adapt their offerings to a leisure age and adult education becomes an integral part of the whole training process, we may well hope to find a study of the new physics, astronomy, world politics, and all the out-reachings of human minds as absorbing a leisure interest as is now the comic strip in a newspaper, or the latest release of a movie hero.

It is interesting to find the philosopher placing recreation or play among the essential values and pointing out the interpenetration of them all. Thus the moral values and the religious are all tied up with the long-neglected play values. For example, much of the highly competitive athletic activity destroys good sportsmanship; many games based on chance lead to unreasonable gambling and, to say the least, tear down moral values. Much commercialized amusement exploits sex and thus violates social values. On the other hand, the play impulse is so deeply rooted and so universal that it offers almost unlimited hopes for conserving, if not actually creating, aesthetic, social, moral, physical, intellectual, and perhaps even religious values.

When it comes to recommending some adequate leisure activities, it might be well to consider the criteria set up by two recent writers for their selection. Overstreet, in his latest book, "We Move in New Directions,"³ says that a good leisure-time activity should "enlist an energetic exercise of the power of selection; give one kinship with materials; widen continually the area of one's interest, and link him up with some great line of human interest." George A. Lundberg of Columbia University says: "A desirable leisure pursuit must fulfill four main requirements: first, it must have the capacity for being relatively permanently interesting; second, it must be as different as possible from the activities which our station in life forces upon us; third, it should, as far as possible, have both its origin and its fulfillment in the individual himself rather than in vindictive coercions of the social or economic order; and, fourth, it should be at least compatible with,

if not conducive to, physical and mental health and personality development."⁴

In the search for available, interesting, inexpensive activities which meet the leisure-time needs of individuals, small groups and homes, let us explore first of all the "acres of diamonds" right at home; such as the traditional games and puzzles, songs, dances, stories which through generations of enjoyment have been found worth passing along, yet are almost unknown in our present age.

For example, "Morris" has been played a thousand years by people in almost every country, and is just as much fun and just as available everywhere today as it was to the shepherd boys in early England, who broke twigs from a bush and stuck them in the turf (as mentioned by Shakespeare in "Midsummer Night's Dream"), or to the choir boys who scratched the diagram on seats of choir stalls in English churches centuries ago. The "Thirty-three Hole Puzzle," of which beautiful models are made in the Berea woodworking shop, was popular in France two hundred years ago and widely played by soldiers in the Civil War; yet its solution is known to comparatively few young people today. Seeking for games from other lands, we find rich treasure in the African counting game, played all over the dark continent before the Christian era, and in the game of "Go," having a history of forty-three hundred years.

Where families and community groups have started making their own game equipment during the past year or two, we have discovered a tremendously popular craft activity. Individuals have attained a priceless feeling of achievement and social approval when their games have been played, passed along, and copied by others. Whole communities have taken up these old, yet new, leisure resources.

By starting with what we have in such home-made interests as this, we can begin the long educational process of building for "creative leisure." Others are discovering the values in folk music, folk dancing, and community drama. The field is an ever widening one, for, after all, this "creative leisure" about which we have been talking is only free time which the individual uses to realize and develop his own capacities and interests.

3. Overstreet, Harry A., *We Move in New Directions*, Ch. XIV.

4. Writing in "Teachers College Record," April, 1933.

How A New Social Order Will Come About

Arthur E. Morgan

Very often we find people who by some turn of circumstance have been put into positions of responsibility and who have had the expenditure of monies put into their hands. We sometimes find that before long they see themselves not as the trustees of that responsibility or those resources, but as somehow the proprietors of them. They begin to speak not as servants and trustees, but as proprietors. I have met such an attitude in a number of relationships during the past few years while I was trying to finance a small undertaking. I have found repeatedly that men who through circumstances had come into a position enabling them to spend other people's money had come to think of that relationship as somehow endowing them with infallible wisdom, judgment, and an all-seeing eye.

I hope that in the work of our Tennessee Valley Authority we may have some clarity of purpose, and we may adhere to that purpose with some persistence. I hope, however, that the responsibility that circumstance has placed on us will not give us a feeling of proprietorship.

It is not any mystic contribution that makes it possible for the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority to proceed. It proceeds because somebody is paying taxes. Every time you ride in an automobile you are paying some taxes to the federal government, and so to the Tennessee Valley Authority. Every time you buy sugar you are paying about as much tax as you are paying for sugar. Every time you pay a tariff, every time you pay income tax, you are making it possible for our undertaking to proceed. We need to remember that, and keep it very clearly in mind. As we have had to deal with representatives of our government, both in the Administration and in Congress, we have frequently found ourselves dealing with people who have that responsibility in mind, and I would not escape contact with those people who bring us back to reality by letting us know that if we have a chance to do any work here, it is not because of a mystic gift,

but because somebody is paying taxes. That matter came up just yesterday. We had a visitor from England here. We were discussing certain developments in the Tennessee Valley, and the statement was made that the new town of Norris ought to be a picture of what a town might be—that we ought to throw economic considerations to the winds, and go the limit to show what would be possible in building a perfect town. I am not certain that that is the proper point of view. If we should accomplish this, we might be doing harm rather than good. If we should set up so perfect a thing, regardless of expense so that other people cannot emulate it, or see it as within the reach of reason to achieve, then we have set up a vain hope and not a real one.

In the building of a new social and economic order, we must build it as we move. It must be like building a bridge under traffic: we must continue to travel over the old bridge while we are building the new one. We cannot have any hiatus. In a very simple economy like that of Russia, where 95 per cent of the people were living close to the soil, getting their sustenance from the soil, where there was scarcely any semblance of a highly-developed industrial organization, the wiping out of the old regime was possible because people were already so close to the soil that they could not fall far. In America the situation is different. We have a highly-integrated structure, as if we were living in a tower rather than on the ground. A breakdown of our tower would be disastrous. I think it is a part of our duty to see that this social order we are building is so built that it will not destroy the continuity of our civilized processes. Some people do not take that risk very seriously. Over and over again I hear people say that the present order has so deteriorated that we might well do away with it and begin again. That is an easy remark to make, but the actual consequences are too serious for us to face. Sometimes very slight disturbances of the eco-

nomic affairs of a nation have terrific results.

A few centuries ago Spain started her Inquisition. She picked out the best minds, minds that were independent and important, and eliminated them—a small part, a very small part, of the population. Yet when she started into the Inquisition I think the country had about forty million people; when she came out it had twenty million. The elimination of people with independent outlook was enough so to disturb the social fabric of that country that when the process was complete the country was able to support only half as many people as when it began; yet that was a relatively slight disturbance of the economic regime.

America is supporting one hundred and twenty million people because of a very highly specialized and very highly developed social organization. If that social organization were actually to break, it might be that this country could not support more than forty million. If it were to disintegrate, it might not support that many. We cannot go back to the time of the Pilgrims, and say we are building a civilization in a new country. We have to take our civilization as it is, as a surging, living, growing, changing thing with many forces at work within the structure, some of it growing stronger, some of it growing weaker. We must take that as it is and from it build our new social order.

When we were talking about our town of Norris, somebody remarked it was worth while to build such a fine town, simply as a social contribution. "Why," he said, "the social savings will be more than the investment in that town, more than the loss would be in delinquency, health, general welfare, and in the morale of people, if it were not built. The savings will be so great that they will outweigh the investment in good building." There is no argument about that. We might go to a sick man and say, "You ought not to be sick. There is no use being sick. It is no harder to be well and takes no more hours a day; why don't you get well?" There is no question that it is a good thing to be well—the question is how to get that way. Similarly, you may ask a poor man, "Why aren't you prosperous? It doesn't take any longer to be prosperous than to be poor." The poor man will admit that everybody wants to be prosperous, but the question is how to be-

come prosperous. We sometimes assume that there is a lack of desire and will, but I am sure that many people believe a new social order might be much better than ours; as much better as prosperity is better than poverty, as good health is better than disease.

It is not a question of what a new order might be worth if we had it, but of how we are going to make that transition. How are we going to build the new bridge while the present one is in use? That is the job we all face, and whenever we go to build that new social order under the traffic of civilization, we find that whatever we do impinges upon existing and vested interests.

If we should say to the mountain workers that beginning tomorrow morning all handicraft must be stopped, there would be objection to the proposal. Yet, if one thinks of the significance of the handicraft that is carried on in the mountains, one realizes that to a large extent it can survive as it is only because of a social order we all deprecate. There are people who have accumulated considerable wealth through a somewhat predatory economic system, and can spend a part of it for goods that otherwise would scarcely justify themselves. While we are criticizing this economic order, we are to some extent living by it.

We find that true over and over again. For the past twelve years I have been trying to raise money to run a college. Most people have been too wise to let me have it because I have constantly and unreservedly made known my social and economic philosophy. I have been asking people to give me money made by one economic order to help build another order. Most people are conservative enough not to be persuaded in that way, and so I have not gotten much money. For the past few years I have been living partly on incomes from foundations. But each of those foundations has accumulated its resources by a social and economic order that will, I hope, pass away. It is in such a dilemma that one finds oneself when one goes to build a new social and economic order.

One finds many other conflicts and dilemmas. For instance, in the Tennessee Valley Authority we are supported by taxation—income taxes, corporation taxes—and then, for example, we use those funds to build a dam. We decide to build it with our own forces, and to cut out the

profits of contractors. The contractors say, "What are we paying taxes for? You are taking the bread out of our mouths." The Tennessee Valley Authority has been considering building and operating a cement plant, as it is in an exceptionally favorable position to do so. Cement owners rise up and say, "What is supporting your government and what supports the Tennessee Valley Authority? Isn't it taxes paid by cement manufacturers and other industries?" No matter which way we turn, we find our interest impinging on interests that are now in existence. We are not quite willing to give up existing interests for the sake of a better order.

Suppose we could build a social and economic order such as we would like, what kind would it be? In Europe a new idea about social and economic orders is coming into being, with Russia as the first case, and with Italy and Germany following along in certain degrees. In Russia the pattern was to wipe out and completely eliminate the existing order with all of its wastefulness, its exploitation, its pillage, its predatory character, and build a new one that would serve the common people. In Russia that was more nearly possible because the structure that was attacked was very simple. The work that has been done there so far has been relatively simple. There has been an effort to build on the rudimentary elements—food, clothing, transportation and manufacturing—but very little yet of the fine manufacture of scientific instruments, of beautiful tools, of high-grade materials, out of which the basic industries have been built. We sometimes think that Russia is a case of building from the ground up, but she did not build this way. She could not have built her new order if she could not have called upon our American, German and English industries. She had to get a running start out of the capitalist world. It was because she could call upon the organization, the fabric, the productiveness of our world that she could begin to build her own world. The story is too new yet in Europe; it is too new in Russia, Italy, and Germany to know what the outcome of their programs will be. It is my opinion as to the Russian and Italian programs, that life is not so simple as they picture it. The Russian picture is made far too simple, I think. The relationships of men are far more varied and com-

plex than that program recognizes, and the qualities of men are far more varied than it is willing to admit. The Italian picture also is in my opinion far too simple, for there is no group of supermen wise enough and strong enough to impose a civilization upon a nation. Life is too complex for either one of those patterns; Russia is finding this out little by little, and I believe Italy is finding it out the same way.

My own opinion is that life is too complex to fit into any simple pattern of social organization. To some extent I might be called a communist, for I like our public school system, and that is purely communistic. I rather like our fire department, which is also communistic. When I was a boy I went to the World's Fair in Chicago. There they had one fire department which was not communistic. It happened that the Turkish exhibit was housed in its own building and included its own fire department. A building caught fire just next to the Turkish exhibit. The Turks operating the fire department ran out to the fire, called the owner out, and said, "How much, how much?" The owner hardly understood. They explained, "No money, no squirt. How much?" That was rugged individualism. In America most of us become communists in our fire departments, in our public school systems, and in our public highways. Public highways used to be good private industries but that got too troublesome, so we made them communistic. Our schools used to be good private industries. When Horace Mann was laying the foundation of the American public school system, he was criticized most bitterly for attacking private industries. People who built them up and were making a living out of them said he was disturbing the economic interests vested in education. People having no children, it was pointed out in the literature of that time, would pay just the same taxes as people who had several, and people who had no money would get the same service as people who had a great deal. This is pure communism.

To a certain extent the typical American is a communist, and on the other hand, he is to a certain extent a socialist. The communist pays for things out of the public till, and everybody gets a share. You might call this state capitalism. In the Post Office Department the government owns and runs the business, but charges for the

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service rendered. This is another kind of a service. It might be called state socialism. I am rather inclined to be in favor of our Post Office. I think that it is more conservative than communism. It is probably best that we do not carry the mail free, for there might be abuse. I am inclined to think that the Post Office Department in its routine operation is rather well handled.

In some other respects we go a little further to the right. We have private education that might be called aristocratic. Some of our great universities are endowed, with self-perpetuating boards of directors and trustees. The public does not have a voice in their administration at all, for it does not elect the trustees, but they perpetuate themselves. In many cases I have been interested in comparing the quality of work in those aristocratic institutions, such as our endowed colleges, with the work of our democratic institutions, such as our state universities. For pure scholarship, I think probably the endowed universities are in the lead, but for general service to the people, I am inclined to think that some of our great state universities have reached out into the life of the people and have been of greater public service. It is hard to say that one type of institution is better than the other. Personally, I have no bone to pick with our endowed universities. In fact, if I had a chance to work for either type, my decision would depend on the character of the individual institution. I would try to get at the merits of the particular case, and social or political theory would not trouble me.

Then we have some parts of our national life that are more or less autocratic and despotic. One of the most popular institutions in the past twenty-five years has been almost an absolute monarchy. I refer to the organization of Henry Ford. In the Ford Motor Company, I believe there are only about four or five stockholders, and they are all in the Ford family. Yet the American people have approved that set-up because they felt that here was a man trying actually to give service for the money he received, hence the loyalty of the average American has been to Henry Ford rather than to organizations with more widespread ownership. As I have had various relationships, I have observed the quality of work done, and the quality of accomplishment in American life, under all forms—communism, so-

cialism, capitalism, democracy, and despotism. It seems to me that I can find certain cases where any one of those is better than any other. I personally believe that it will be a good thing if in America we can to some extent keep on forgetting economic and social theories as we have in the past. Russia tied herself to a social theory, and is trying to mould the life of the people to one social theory. Italy is trying to do it in still another way. In America we have had little regard for theories. In one case we find communism, in one case political democracy, and in another aristocracy, and we are willing to try it this way and that way. Where any method works best, we are willing to try it for the time being; if it ceases to work well, we will change. Consider our Parcel Post system and Express Company. Our country is better off because each one is a stimulus to the other. I believe that the welfare of America will lie along the lines of eclecticism or economic pragmatism. If we keep ourselves free from commitment to any abstract theory and try to work out the exigencies of the case, as they can be worked out best, I believe in the long run we will develop an economy of variety, adaptability, excellence, and appropriateness that we cannot work out by any abstract political theory.

Let us try to apply that principle here in the Tennessee Valley. I think it means this: that we are not going to design a new kind of order suddenly and then try to impose it on the country here. We are not going to say that henceforth private property will be taboo—that the government must now own the industries. I am inclined to think that we are not going to take any such attitude, but we are going to explore and discover what lies in the situation, what capacity for self-government people have, and to what extent private initiative can see itself as a trustee rather than an exploiter of the country. We must explore a multitude of human conditions and relationships. I hope we can keep a great variety of relationships, economic and social, and that as our civilization grows up it can continue to be free from the doctrinal quality of the Russian communist, who says that the government must own everything, and from the doctrine of the United States Chamber of Commerce which says the Government must never do anything with busi-

ness. To have that eclecticism or pragmaticism of spirit does not mean that we do not want to bring about any changes. The primary need is that we keep our eyes open, see facts, and let neither phrases nor vested interests blind us to them.

When we look at our present economic set-up, we find that it is not perfect. The fact that we are pragmatic does not mean that we must use the present method, but that we are willing to use any method that will work best. There are elements in the present social order that seem to me disastrous to any social well-being. I believe that there are certain assumptions which we sometimes meet in the capitalistic system which must change or pass away. One is the assumption that one goes into business to get out of it all he can. This assumption is not universal, but it is so frequent that it blights a large portion of our economic life, as it has done in our Tennessee Valley. For instance, this valley was once heavily wooded. With vision and social purpose, our forests, instead of being slaughtered and sent away as raw material, leaving people starving behind, might have been treated as a permanent resource; people might have had industries that would have lasted for centuries. Our mines have been treated in somewhat the same way. Our coal mining industry has been a predatory industry rather than a socially-minded industry. One cannot generalize, because some of the finest socially-minded people in the world have been in the lumber and in the coal mining industries, but they have been driven to methods that they could scarcely respect because of the pressure of industry as a whole. Our power industry has not been free from the spirit of exploitation; indeed, it has not been unknown for power companies to over-finance themselves two or three times. In one of President Roosevelt's addresses, there is a statement to the effect that in the building of American railroads they were paid for over three times in speculation and exploitation. If our railroads today were capitalized at a reasonable amount, under reasonable amortization, they would not be in their present distress. There has been a temper of seeing business processes as a way to get out all the wealth there is in them that has poisoned our industrial life. Unless there can be a change in that respect, we cannot have a new order.

Go through American industry, and one finds many things that are supremely beautiful. Go into a plant that is making some highly developed product—the automobile, for instance. It is a constant marvel to me that rough-and-ready men, very few of them all-round developed people, can turn out so beautiful a thing as the modern automobile. Industry has organized itself to extract this ability from one man, that ability from another, and synthesize them to get a product of marvelous beauty, adaptability, power and durability. One can find that all through American industry. Try to take some industry that you have known, textiles, steel, or some scientific product industry, and endeavor to improve upon the excellence of the work that is being done, and you will find that in that industry there has been gathered together an accumulation of thrift, accuracy and pride of workmanship which it is not easy to excel. That part of industry is beautiful. I can scarcely conceive of public ownership, of a socialistic order, achieving the fine quality that the free play of personal initiative has produced. What a pity that on top of such excellence we have superimposed a regime of business and finance which uses that fine quality as stakes in a game of finance and gambling. What a pity that beauty and excellence, the pride of workmanship, must be prostituted as they have so often been in our American life.

To build a new social order, we somehow need to select the good and true things. It must be a matter of discrimination, choice, and elimination. We must keep some elements of the present order. They have been centuries in growing up. We must save certain elements and develop them, others we must eliminate. When we find that some element is a debasing one, that it is wrecking our social order and ruining man's opportunity for life, we must clear it away and free ourselves of it. In the building of a new social order, there is no grand sweep that we can make to clear the way. Out of this great mass of good, bad, and neutral, we shall little by little select and build an order that will have beauty, permanence and excellence, and that will contribute to human dignity.

It is a no less complex job than this, that we of the Tennessee Valley Authority are engaged in. Perhaps three out of four of our experiments will

fail; perhaps nine out of ten will fail. That is no reason for not making experiments. We hope to find ways in which the processes of industry can be worked out by the people here, so that a young man growing up in the region can find a good many places where there can be social, industrial, economic and agricultural opportunities, and he will not be going down a blind alley with no one to offer him any chance in life. We hope that there can be developed through this region initiative in building an economic and social structure that will give expression to the qualities inherent in the region. We are making some tentative explorations in the field of cooperative endeavors. In some cases it may be possible to find men of social purposes to set up private industries which they will treat as a trustee would treat them, rather than as an exploiter would treat them. We are trying to work out labor relations, and to get more men to study the relationship between employer and employee. We are trying to get employee and employer together so they can forget that old order of master and servant, and get the spirit of men working together to find a common expression of their common purpose. We are hoping that as we go along, there may be developed an increased discrimination of beauty and excellence so that leisure may have something of value to occupy it. A craving for fine things must be built up at the same time so that the hours released by industry will not be released for trivialities but for creative effort. A new social order will not be dependent upon any one

of these things, but upon a synthesis of them all.

In the Tennessee Valley Authority we are trying to take the elements of things as they are and weld them into a new order based on humanity as it is. I think that is a good way to work, because we do well to begin in many ways. It will not do for us to spend a century or so doing nothing toward a new order except build character, but neither will it pay for us to try to build forms of social order without also building character. We must work in all directions at once.

Here in the Tennessee Valley the prospect of improvement in the social order does not depend entirely upon political philosophy, or upon federal appropriations; it depends to a considerable extent upon a spirit of aspiration, a quality of social-mindedness, a quality of casting one's lot with the common man, the quality of paying a great price for what is excellent. It depends upon that as much as it does upon any handling of monies or of political power. It means trying to live day by day, week by week, in a close association with people so that here and there individuals will be moved by a new spirit that will be ready to pay a great price for quality. Unless there are in the background of the Tennessee Valley Authority a large number of people who are individually engaged in laying the foundations of human character on which a new civilization can be built, all the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority will be wasted, or almost worse than wasted.



Social And Economic Development Of The Tennessee Valley

As Presented by Dr. Floyd W. Reeves
and His Associates

Following the address by Dr. Morgan, Dr. Reeves of the Tennessee Valley Authority presented some of the practical aspects of the program. He began by calling attention to the fact that though the per capita wealth in the Tennessee Valley is very low, the region is rich in mineral resources and in human resources, and hence the problem of the Authority is to make this region great with the human and natural resources at their command. Major purposes of the development are to raise the per capita wealth and ease the economic and social burdens of the people, and to give them better health and better living conditions.

Dr. Reeves told members of the Conference that the Tennessee Valley Authority is also a part of the national planning program, and serves as a laboratory for a certain type of experiment, through regional planning, flood control, development of power and home electrification, conservation and utilization of natural resources, and the Norris community. He then called on friends on the staff to present various aspects of the program.

REGIONAL PLANNING

This term, generally employed in this country for regions near cities, is used by the Authority with reference to a much larger area—42,000 square miles, inhabited by 2,500,000 people. Regional planning in the Tennessee Valley does not refer to the planning of lots, streets, house location, and parks. It is not a question of zoning, land use, the height of buildings, sanitation, or proper housing exclusively. The term as used in the Tennessee Valley has social implications. An effort is being made to plan in terms of what the engineering developments in the valley will be able to do for the individual.

FLOOD CONTROL

A generation ago floods were classed with tornadoes as calamities for which there was no control. This must still be the case in localities where

cost as yet renders flood control prohibitive, but in many cases the benefits resulting are found to outweigh the cost. Even when the cost is very high, cooperation will sometimes make flood control possible, as in the Miami Valley in Ohio, where it was found that planning control for all the towns in the valley was cheaper than individual control measures. It is also more economical if flood control can serve other purposes as well. Reservoirs where flood waters may be stored may be a useful source of water supply to neighboring communities and also effectively check floods, except where the flow of water is greater than has been anticipated. The Tennessee Valley Authority will use these general methods in attempting to control the flow of water in the area, treating the watersheds of the Tennessee Valley as a single planning unit, and establishing storage reservoirs to regulate the flow.

DEVELOPMENT OF POWER AND HOME ELECTRIFICATION

This program also, it was pointed out, is developed with the idea of service to the entire region. Home electrification at a low rate will be possible and the development should demonstrate to users of electricity that it is not necessary to pay so much for it. It is believed that high rates to users of electricity are not chiefly due to over-financing, but to a policy of limiting consumption of power, and the Tennessee Valley Authority is accordingly planning to extend the low rates, which it is expected will be justified with a reasonable consumption of electrical energy. One reason why more electrical energy is not used is that electrical appliances are expensive. By arrangement with the Electric Home and Farm Authority (as explained on page 28 by Dr. Woolrich), manufacturers of ranges, refrigerators, pumps and water-heaters will cooperate by lowering their prices, and the Electric Home and Farm Authority will help to finance the buying of electrical appliances. Marketing of the power at Wilson Dam has already been provided for,

and by the time that Norris Dam is ready to be used, it is expected that there will be a market for power furnished there also. A program of rural electrification for Tennessee, as in some other states, is being planned.

CONSERVATION AND UTILIZATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The conservation of natural resources is largely an attitude of mind, an attitude which has prevailed in Central Europe for many years. Our farmers must come to realize that their prosperity rests on the productivity of their soil, and they must learn how to conserve that productivity. Agricultural experts are now at work within the Valley territory, seeking to stop the leaks and plan for new developments in the productivity of the region.

DEVELOPMENT AT NORRIS

The town of Norris is planned for the people who will live there. There will be no exploitation of land. As the town develops, the value of the land will go back into the town itself. A protective belt of open land will be left around the town, to give the feeling of unity to the people, and leave ample open space for recreation and parks. It is not desired that Norris shall grow beyond a fairly small population, so that the social life can be kept within bounds.

After the dam is built, there is the plan to make Norris a permanent community by the introduction of other means of employment, particularly for those who have brought their families to Norris and wish to settle there.

TRAINING PROGRAM AT THE TOWN OF NORRIS

When plans were first made for the development of Norris, a short working week of thirty hours was adopted to provide an opportunity for men to get training along various lines, which will enable them to fit themselves better for the jobs which they are already doing, or training along other lines, so that they may go into different fields, or to give them experience so that they may choose a suitable vocation in the future. In order to make this training a real service to each man, the education is to be adapted to the needs of the individual.

Agricultural training is offered, which will stress the small type of farm, with garden and dairy. There are four trade shops, giving training in wood working, auto repairing, machine shop work, and electrical work. Women may choose courses in home management and other fields of home economics. A limited number of men will be allowed to gain experience on all phases of the work with a view to becoming foremen. General educational training is also offered, at present provided largely by members of the Tennessee Valley Authority staff and their wives. It is also planned to provide adequate leadership for recreation and leisure time activities among the men in the camps.

At the time of the Conference, officials had not yet completed tabulation of the blanks which had been filled out by T.V.A. workers, but it was stated that fully half of the men were interested in various phases of agricultural training, showing that they planned to return to the soil for complete or at least partial support after construction work with the T. V. A. In many groups there was found to be a marked interest in reading, writing, personal finance, and sciences. At least three-fourths of the workers had indicated interest in general cultural subjects.

Agricultural and Industrial Resources of the Tennessee Valley

W. R. Woolrich

In the infancy of human development, mankind depends almost entirely upon the available natural resources for his food, clothing and shelter. To him, a vast reservoir of available natural resources is an ever-present need. His dwelling-place is necessarily very near the best sources of supply. In this period of race childhood vast acreages are needed to support adequately a few people, as was exemplified by the difficulty of 840,000 Indians to find a satisfactory livelihood in North America at the time of the discovery of this continent by the white man.

In advancing stages of civilization, man finds new methods of using natural resources to extend their usefulness and satisfy his wants. He also discovers methods of conserving them and developing new forms of wealth. This form of resource is often called Training and Tools of Production. It enables mankind rapidly to pyramid his activity and influence. But not unlike the tower of Babel, the rising power of would-be leaders often brings confusion to the whole order. The superman may find that he has been a builder of destruction and not of permanent values.

It is such experiences—repeated and repeated over the long succession of historical events—that convince mankind that there is something beyond the interest of using the world's resources for purely personal gain. His natural resources and his training and tools must be guided by some more unselfish social and religious standard that will control their development. This final or highest type of resource is then the social and religious standards of the people.

Civilization approaches its highest form when it gives complete control to this third form of resource. It is the governing resource of mankind. When a nation has reached such a stage in its progress that it permits its development of natural resources through the instrumentality of its training and equipment under the planned control of unselfish social and religious standards, and for the great common good, it is then emerging upon its highest plane of permanent

civilization. Each resource should be fully developed for the greatest good to result. The depletion or dissipation of any one will decide the net value of our resource development. But our control resource is the only one that nationally can suffer rapid changes of valuation. The permanence of such group influences as that of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Puritans of New England, the Mormons of Utah, and the Evangelical Churches in their life-development projects for the rural areas of the United States, lends definite evidence of the value of such control.

An examination of these three resources reveals that only the social and religious standards follow a cycle. The cycle recurrence of periods of opportunity and of depression indicates the very close relationship of such standards in the successful control of the world's progress.

BASIC PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS IN THE LOCATION OF INDUSTRY

For a successful industrial location for a manufacturing plant, the five major factors are usually classified as the five "M's." These are (a) men, (b) money, (c) markets, (d) materials, (e) machinery of transportation, production and power. Secondary factors are climate, water supply, local patriotism, local laws, and the nature of people.

Likewise we might give the basic physical factors to be considered in the location of a successful farming area: (a) type and price of land, (b) taxation, (c) markets, (d) climate, (e) type of people, (f) money.

OUR NATIONAL ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

In the early history of the United States, agriculture and industry were necessarily distinctly apart. Rural homes were widely separated and socially isolated by slow travel methods, poor roads, and by fertile lands which encouraged large acreages. On the other hand, industrial communities were inherently compact units by ne-

cessity of concentration at centers of available power and transportation and by the same lack of highways and low-cost, fast-moving conveyances that kept the farm owner isolated. With each, specialization was definitely their mode of life; there was little desire to widen the horizon of their activity beyond their own occupation.

Manufacturing for nearly a century had a progressive growth, taking into its ranks the oncoming generations and recruiting further from the excess rural population. Agriculture pressed farther into the frontier, destroying the future fertility of new lands for immediate needs.

By 1920 both agriculture and industry were beginning to feel the effect of an unplanned development. With all of the frontiers taken up and with a land price level far in excess of actual land worth, together with a decreasing fertility of the soil from heavy cropping and serious erosion, the land owner faced financial ruin. The farmer holding the land had to assume the losses equal to the accumulated superficial values of several generations. In industry, the race between increased production per man and the increased

demand for goods had steadily gone on, the increased demand able to keep the lead. Thus it was possible for industry to support more and more men. But by the end of the World War, our increased productivity had been so accelerated that it outdistanced the demand, and, as in agriculture, there began a piling up of idle workers and over-investment of capital. The areas in which this pile-up was the least felt were those where agriculture had been maintained with industry.

The decentralizing forces that caused industry to diffuse into agricultural areas varied with the different types of production. Those forces that exerted a marked influence were: (a) lower operating costs of some types of industry in smaller cities due to lower labor costs, lower rents, etc.; (b) more efficient distribution of certain products from plants located near the markets; (c) greater flexibility and adaptability of organizations of relatively smaller size; (d) more efficient management in organizations of smaller size in many types of industry.

Sociological decentralizing forces paralleling

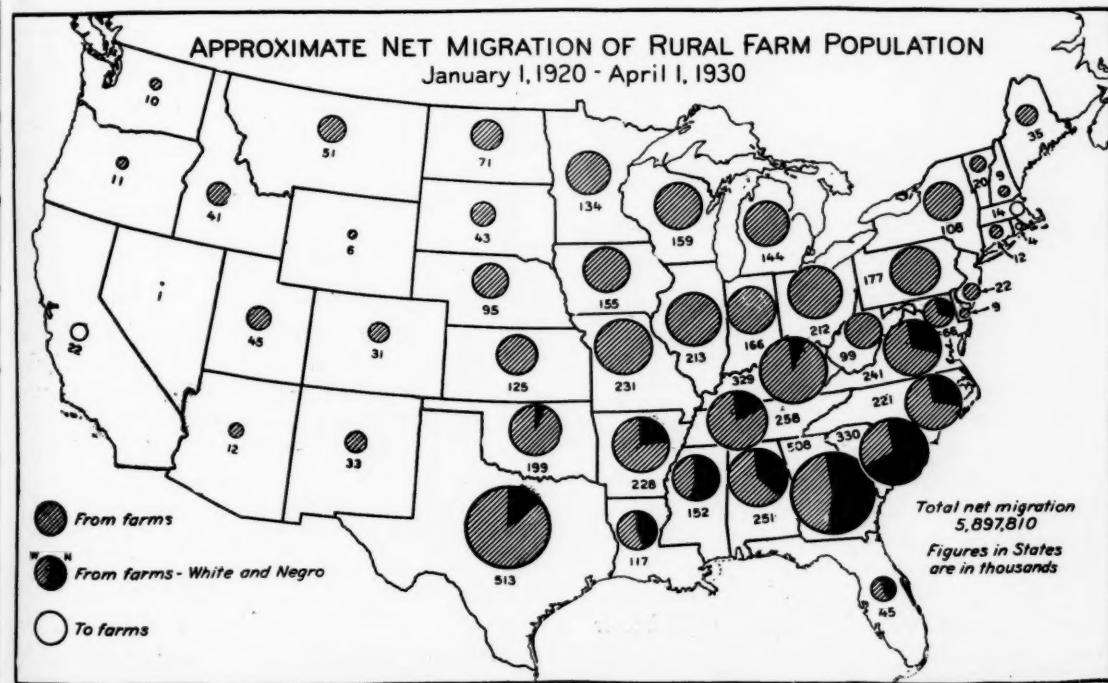


Figure 1

these economic forces in industry are: (a) greater diversity of opportunity to earn at least a subsistence living in rural communities in which both agricultural and industrial employment are available; (b) greater community interest among people of small centers; (c) opportunities for workers to use their spare time, raise their standards of living by home improvement, and cultivate gardens; (d) rural electrification and good

come with income from industrial employment without giving up his land, which to him is the assurance of a living in case the industry fails to give him employment.

AN AVAILABLE PATTERN IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY

Much of the industrial development of the Southeastern States has occurred since these changing forces have become appreciably effective. More than a decade ago, Dr. H. A. Morgan, then President of the University of Tennessee, presented several briefs on the decentralization of industry, calling attention to the developments in several Southern areas where industry had located in the rural sections, giving well-balanced agricultural industrial communities. In these locations a very satisfactory community life had developed. In Kingsport, Greeneville, and Elizabethton the workers owned tracts of land several miles from the plant and drove to work each day. In some of these areas, over 50 per cent of the workers live under rural home conditions. They have a security unknown to the city dweller. Community chests have been a minor problem in many of these centers during the past four years; while in the more densely settled urban districts social workers have sought to get a mere existence for the unemployed, in these better balanced centers both industry and agriculture have been able to survive and keep the workers clothed and fed.

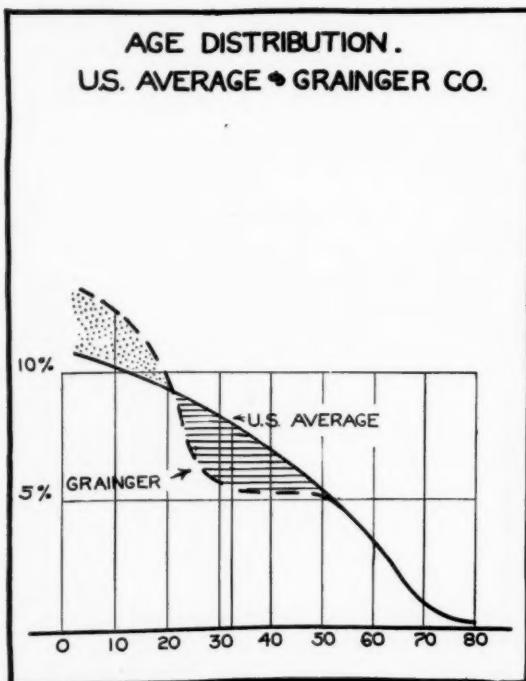


Figure 2

roads making the border agricultural-industrial communities more attractive for home location.

The economic forces that have encouraged agriculture to welcome this invasion of industry into the rural areas include: (a) the lower tax rate in areas where industry carries part of the burden; (b) employment in industry for the surplus population of working age; (c) new markets opened to local farm products.

The sociological forces which have encouraged the farmer to welcome industry are: (a) better school systems, roads and other social services made possible by industrial income; (b) opportunity for the farmer to supplement agricultural in-

SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN DEVELOPMENT

The economic, social, and political conditions existing during the period of settlement of the Tennessee Valley prevented a well-coordinated development of agriculture, industry, and commerce, for which the area is well fitted. The agriculture of the region was established upon a highly individualistic, self-supporting basis, with little thought of its relation to the future development of industry based upon abundant natural resources. As transportation facilities developed, agriculture became more commercialized. Then it met keen competition from other regions in major surplus products and was forced back upon a self-sufficient type of farming.

As population increased, and the fertility of the cultivated areas became exhausted, the demand for new homesteads forced the clearing of remote new areas. During this period industries began to locate in centers of population along the transportation lines, and cities began a rapid growth unrelated to the rural areas from which they drew their population and raw materials. Gradually the rural counties dwindled in taxable wealth and were unable to support their schools, churches, and other social institutions. Some counties lost population, including the most enterprising and capable individuals, because there were no opportunities on the small farms. Those who remained found it necessary to deplete the soil and forests in order to support themselves. Figure 1 shows the effect of those forces upon population between 1920 and 1930. Of the nearly six million people who left the rural areas for the cities, a strikingly large proportion were from the southeastern states. Even after this migration, in typical rural counties of East Tennessee there are 1,000 to 2,000 people in each county who are not needed for agriculture.

A survey of one purely agricultural county in Tennessee, (Grainger), in 1932, showed that federal and state tax payments going into it were \$91,000 in excess of tax revenue produced there; that the county buildings depreciated \$80,000 during the year; that depletion of soil and forests was about \$55,000. A county trade balance was struck, including flow of commodities in and out and of cash in and out; the result was a \$212,000 deficit. The income from commercial agriculture was utterly inadequate to maintain anything approaching a satisfactory standard of living for the people of such counties. Only an increased subsidy from state and federal government or the supplementing of agricultural income from some industry can provide it.

In his "Human Geography of the South," Vance points out that, having one-quarter of the nation's population, eleven southeastern states must rear and educate half of all our farm children, so that the relative burden of rural education is far higher than in other areas.

Referring further to Grainger County, Figure 2 shows how lack of economic opportunity affected age distribution in this same county. There

was a larger population of people below 21 than the average for the United States. There was a far smaller proportion of people from 21 to 52, and about the same proportion of people older than 52. In other words, large numbers of people in the prime of life had gone elsewhere to seek a living; and a correspondingly large number of people above working age had returned after they had been thrown on the human scrap heap in the cities.

Farmers whose income came partly from agriculture and partly from industry were more fortunate than those dependent entirely on agriculture, as indicated by Figure 3. This chart compares the net labor incomes, including both cash and commodity items, of 32 similar farm families, half of which had part time work other than on the farm. (In 1929, about 30 per cent of all the farm operators in America did some work for pay on roads, in forests, in industries, and other non-farm occupations. About 11 per cent worked 100 days or more at such occupations during the year.)

NECESSITY FOR INCREASED EMPLOYMENT IN INDUSTRY RELATIVE TO EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

Our foods and fibres could be produced by many less people than are now on farms. There exists "surplus" farm production and "surplus" farm population, and those "surpluses" have depressed farm prices until the economic standard of living of almost the entire farm population has fallen very low. The people of the cities have not in the long run profited from this mal-adjustment, as the wheels of industry and commerce have slowed down so far that most city dwellers are also suffering privations. Even those who still have large incomes have no security.

In general, consumption of food is definitely limited, while the consumption of industrial goods is unlimited. As farm production rises, some of the farm people must shift their economic support from commercial agriculture to industry or commerce, or to raising products for which there is an untapped demand. That this has been happening from 1870 to 1930 was shown in Figure 4. Unfortunately many rural areas lost their most enterprising and capable individuals

in the migration to find economic opportunity in the cities. As rural people left the land, they exchanged at least subsistence security for complete dependence on the pay check.

THREE POSSIBLE METHODS OF ADJUSTMENT

Large numbers of people now in rural areas must find industrial employment. The question is what kind of industrial employment is to be provided, and what kind of living and social conditions will accompany it. The way of the past has necessitated the migration of rural people to the cities. The excessive urbanization of population in the past, however, has not been successful. Many of the farm people who have gone to the cities to get income from industry have found attractions not generally available in rural areas, but have been disappointed by squalor, narrow lives, and desperate insecurity. If the excess rural population is forced to the cities it must be supported as a public charge when industry and commerce fail to provide employment. Furthermore, mankind does not yet know how to manage large cities successfully. Probably some of our largest metropolises should be encouraged to grow smaller rather than larger.

Another way is to create subsistence communities in which unemployed farmers (or city dwellers) grow food for their own consumption, but, in order to avoid adding to crop surpluses on the markets, not for cash sale. Such commodities must be subsidized in some way in order to provide cash for taxes, purchase of land, and various goods which cannot be produced in the communities themselves.

The third alternative is to introduce industrial production and employment at points accessible to the "surplus" farm population. In this way, their economic support can be partly transferred to industry without making it necessary to abandon entirely the rural way of living and the security that goes with it.

Small industries in rural areas can supplement farm income by part-time industrial employment; they can offer full time employment to rural people with no farm income; some of them can provide nearby markets with farm and other local products as raw materials; some of them can be organized on a cooperative or membership basis which will tend to prevent the draining of purchasing power to other areas through dividend, interest, and rent payment; and often they can serve nearby markets more efficiently

than highly-organized large industries; some of them can develop products characteristic of the region, based on local skills, and thus help to preserve the individuality of their regions.

In addition to the desirable effects of industries located in rural areas upon the life of these areas, there are reasons for believing that it is important to our civilization as a whole that means be found to provide this essential employment in industry and associated occupations in

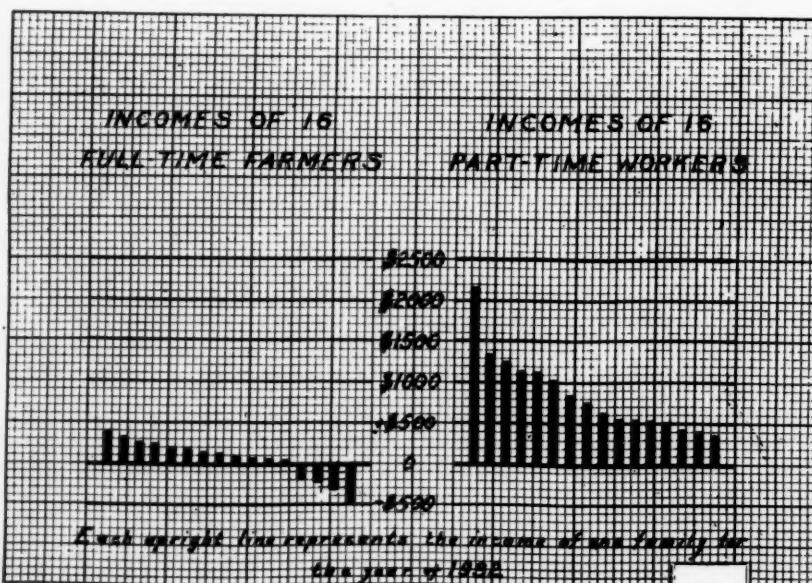


Figure 3

rural areas. Some of these reasons are here listed: (1) Communities which are not too crowded and not too far removed from the land and the natural processes of growth around which life is organized in rural areas can offer the best background for the children of each oncoming generation. (2) The advantages of rural life can be preserved, and the disadvantages of isolated living largely overcome through better-planned rural communities with homes grouped along good roads, through rural electrification, and through the rebuilding of small cities in rural areas into real centers of social life. (3) Rural people will have good schools, high grade medical and social services and good facilities for recreation only if the agricultural production can be organized around outlying centers of population to which a part of the nation's industrial production brings a flow of purchasing power. (4) No large city population has ever maintained itself. The rural areas have always produced, reared, and educated more than their share of children. It is essential for the welfare of the race that the rural communities furnish the necessary social background to do a good job of training the oncoming generations. (5) The security against periods of unemployment due to fluctuations in industrial activity which is furnished by a home located on the land is a more satisfying and less wasteful security than that furnished by cash unemployment compensation through periods of idleness.

POSSIBLE DIVERSITY OF INDUSTRIES

Four different types of industrial enterprise present themselves as possibilities in a program of planned interspersion of industry and agriculture, each with different problems of industrial adjustment. These are: (a) the cottage or home type of craft industry, (b) the privately owned small industry, (c) the cooperatively owned industry, (d) the large industry that will adapt itself to a regulated program.

That the small factory is still important is indicated by the following facts: In 1925, 75.9 per cent of all American manufacturing plants used less than 100 connected horsepower; 96.4 per cent used less than 1,000 connected horsepower; 22 per cent of the workers were employed in

plants using less than 100 horsepower, and 58 per cent in plants using less than 1,000 horsepower.

A balanced industrial development will include large, medium, and small plants adapted to various fields of manufacture and to various locations. Some industries are naturally large and operate more efficiently as large units. Ordinary steel and cement will continue to be made in large plants unless processes change. In the case of steel, the need for assured supplies of ore and marketing considerations make for even larger units and centralized control. Clothing, good furniture, and many other products can be made as economically, or more economically, in plants of moderate size. One advantage of small units is that many of the human factors involved in management are more quickly sensed and are thus more readily adjusted. It is also to be noted that small plants do not necessarily imply small and financially weak organizations. Many of the small plants in America are branches operated by very large companies.

A community based on well-balanced industry and agriculture should include some large mass production industries, turning out certain articles in large quantities very cheaply, but it should also include a diversity of smaller plants distributed among various industries. In every case one of the first requisites of any industrial development should be the guarantee of resident control or ownership. Absentee control of American industry has sometimes been a success, but in most localities it has brought unnecessary suffering, especially to those of maturing years.

SOME METHODS OF PROCEDURE

The methods adopted to bring about a realization of the objectives of the Tennessee Valley Authority must be as varied and adaptable as the multitude of economic factors in the mosaic of American activity. The public mind visualizes the major projects in the Tennessee Valley program as being power development, dam construction, and navigation improvement. But equally important in this regional plan are the diffusion of industry and agriculture, the better adjustment of the rural and urban population, the planned utilization of land to prevent further erosion and develop increased fertility, the con-

servation of mineral and forest resources; all are to be accomplished with the preservation of the social and religious values for which the area is noted. Further, the assumed obligation of the Authority is that of providing a demonstration of not merely an improved region but a national exhibit of the development of a better type of American life.

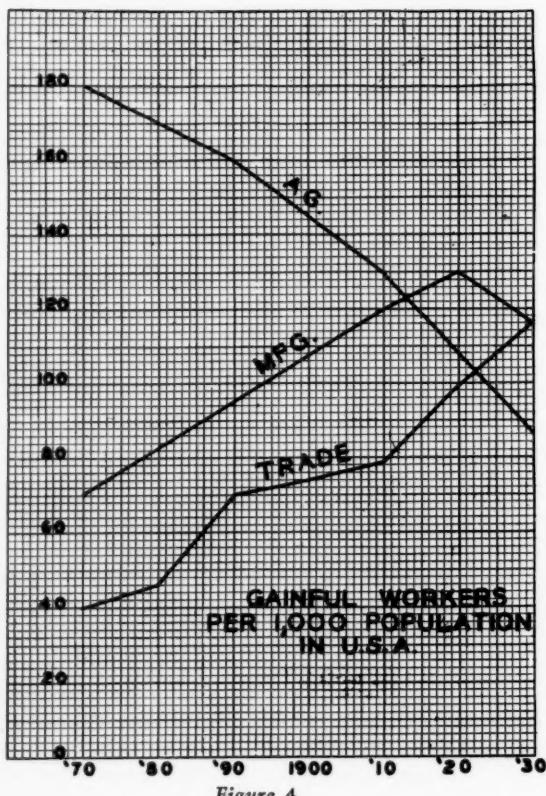


Figure 4

Typical of the methods being used is the establishment of uniform power rates at all points along the transmission line from Wilson Dam to Norris Dam. The previously prevailing practice of offering better rate schedules at the points of power generation has encouraged concentration of industry. The new schedule offered by the Tennessee Valley Authority makes the many rural locations along the two hundred-and-thirty-mile transmission line just as attractive from the standpoint of power costs as locations near the power dams. Again, the mixing of fertilizers with their high percentage of carrier content has cus-

tomarily been carried on in larger fertilizer plants. This has occasioned the payment of freight on large tonnages of these carriers that are very generally available anywhere in the Tennessee Valley. It is planned to do much of this mixing at out-lying points to which the concentrated nitrates, phosphates and potash are transported. Such a process will reduce the cost of plant food very materially.

These and many similar developments will be fostered both by private industry and by cooperative enterprises. To stimulate necessary investments in industries in rural areas will require going demonstrations showing in actual operation the proposed relation between industry and agriculture. The Tennessee Valley Authority is projecting such demonstration areas, some of them taking in two or more counties. The development of practical means of organizing and financing local industries in these demonstration areas and in other rural areas constitutes one of the most important tasks ahead. Cooperative industries may play an important part, but privately owned industry should do most of the job. The Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperatives, Inc., has been formed, and one of its purposes is to assist local people in setting up and financing industries in demonstration areas. The plans of organization contemplated are based on cooperative private ownership, with both private and public loans for initial financing, full ownership and control ultimately to be transferred to members. It will have a central advisory and accounting service available to cooperatives in the group.

The entire program imposes the necessity for a well-ordered research development. The early emphasis for research study in America came largely from the scientists of Europe who took refuge on American soil and adopted this country as their home. It is an all-too-well-established fact that the northern area selected by these immigrant scientists for their adopted homes was also the area most productive of scientific discovery. Southern scientific and technical research laboratories have only come into their own within the past two decades and now give promise of some genuine contributions to American life. Many southern products hold future promise for industrial development. Sweet potatoes, hemp, fiber flax, sorghum cane, cotton seed, southern

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fruits, southern pines, cedar, pecans, walnut wood, aluminum, magnesium, phosphates, and manganese are among those products of immediate prospect.

Not only is the Tennessee Valley Authority itself carrying on some of these researches to speed up actual production, but the laboratories of all the southern states related to the Valley, especially the agricultural and engineering experiment stations, are being invited into the picture to encourage a pooling of brains. The products of these research investigations are then to be projected into the manufacturing program in the Valley.

The cooperation of the rural people of the Valley is being solicited through their established public agencies upon which they depend for research, instruction, and demonstrations in the basic principles essential to the orderly use of their resources to support a permanent rural civilization. The farm people and the agencies representing them are being asked to pool their facilities, experience, and energies in a program of adjustment of their farming practices so as to conserve the soil, water, and timber resources of the farms and to protect the power of the streams for the use of a balanced agricultural-industrial society. That the new training of the residents of the area should come largely by their own cooperative enterprise is fundamental to the success of the project. The organization of cooperatives requires their participation in the development and gives training in the principles and operation of the plan. And in such a cooperative association, the industrial worker will receive some of the privileges of ownership which he has slowly seen passing from his grasp in the movement from craft trades to mass production. That this may be accomplished without returning to the drudgery of hand production is a desirable consideration. Fortunately the Tennessee Valley is in a very desirable geographical position to carry on a planned development of the area. It lies in the pathway of a large portion of northward and southward movement of products, just as Ohio was a transit state for the people going west from the eastern states.

LAND USE

Land use programs have brought forth a wide variety of methods. Some of these have been tried without thinking-through their ultimate results. Coordination of effort seems to be the most needed prerequisite for a successful land use program in any commonwealth. The state that attempts uncoordinated programs that include colonization, crop acreage control, and extensive forestry development, each under a separate bureau or division, must expect to encounter diametrically diverging efforts that it cannot consistently explain.

Even when the land utilization departments within a commonwealth have been well coordinated, the problem is not always solved when erosion is involved. In a well-ordered conservation movement, erosion control cannot always recognize state lines. For example, the Norris Dam watershed extending back into the states of Virginia and North Carolina from across the Tennessee state line contributes sufficient silt at the present erosion rates to fill up the dam and make it virtually ineffective for storage in a little more than one hundred years. A program of erosion control confined to Tennessee alone would effectively correct only a part of the silting hazard. Thus it is highly desirable to secure the closest cooperation among North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee. The more than two million acres involved, comprising this watershed, call, therefore, for the coordination of the several land use divisions within each state, then the closest cooperation between the states themselves, if the desired results are to be secured.

The selection of marginal lands under a land use program will ever inject some controversy. New enterprises often change an area from the marginal classification to that of satisfactory production. In a program of closer companionship of industry and agriculture, small acreages of hill land with outcrops of rock or barren land may be much more conducive to the farmer's giving a part of his time to industry than would wide expanses of fertile soil. The locating of a new industry in a sub-marginal area may raise that region from the sub-marginal classification to a satisfactory productive status.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

One of the greatest lessons taught by the experience of the last half-century, terminating in the reactions of the past four years, is that man has placed too much emphasis on his ideal of mass production and too little on the development of his home. In the industrial area of the eastern part of the United States, this mass production was measured in tons of material processed or millions of pieces produced. In the great valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, this same urge of mass production resulted in their measuring prosperity in millions of bushels or pounds of some agricultural product raised.

Our educational systems, our banking structure, our laws and our economic weave, were—and to some extent still are—based on making the big bigger and ignoring the small as unimportant and without caste.

The development of the American home with higher cultural values, more artistic appreciation and modeled as a place to live, instead of being looked upon as a mere resting place between Herculean efforts to produce more goods, is essential and inevitable if we are to maintain our leadership as a great nation. The farm home life, with its breadth of experience, has an educational and cultural value that must be not only preserved but should be extended. Rural electrification holds out great possibilities in the improvement of the farm home. It promises to give the rural dweller virtually all of the advantages of city life without introducing many of the undesirable features to be found in crowded urban centers. The extension of the use of electricity will probably eventually turn the tide of migration from its past movement from farm to city, and give rural America an increasing number of people coming into her areas which a generation previous our forefathers left for the city. Many of these will not return to the country as farmers but as suburban residents taking on enough of the rural habits to bring a better mode of life to their families, but affecting little the net production of agricultural products.

ELECTRIFICATION PROGRAM

A satisfactory farm electrification program re-

quires: (a) a rate low enough to compete with existing light and power sources; (b) an added income for any extended use that will more than pay for the increment of power used; (c) equipment costs that are basically sound; (d) the end of manufacturers' experimenting at the expense of the farmer; and (e) either cash purchasing, or an installment buying program that can be economically justified.

Rate bases in many states have been a subject of question. Some points of controversy before rate commissions have been: (a) using a liberal depreciation to maintain a high rate schedule but failing to reduce the capital investment by such annual depreciation figure; (b) maintaining a high bonded indebtedness and charging the bond interest as a legitimate expense; (c) permitting unessential poles and equipment to exist to hold up the capital valuation; (d) charging a high valuation on the cost of the pole line, permitting the farmer to pay for this pole line but still keeping it on the company books as utility property; and (e) purchasing properties in excess of actual cost.

THE ELECTRIC HOME AND FARM AUTHORITY

The Electric Home and Farm Authority can best be briefly explained by the statement of Director Lilienthal:

The plan, in brief, is as follows: The manufacturers of electric equipment have indicated their willingness to participate in a program of producing certain types of standard quality, low-cost, electricity-using appliances. These will be offered for sale by the existing dealer outlets, at prices very substantially lower than any heretofore known. These manufacturers will cooperate with Electric Home and Farm Authority in certain research and educational activities designed to bring home to people of the area the most economical and most satisfactory ways of using electricity in the home and on the farm. Further, Electric Home and Farm Authority will arrange for a more satisfactory basis for the financing of electric appliances. While the Reconstruction Finance Corporation will, in effect, guarantee ten million dollars of consumer paper, we are confident that the actual credit will come through the commercial banking system, which has been looking for just such a high type of consumer paper, consistent with the needs for liquidity. The cost of financing to the consumer will be greatly reduced, due

in considerable part to a cooperative arrangement whereby collections will be made by the utility company on the consumer's electric bill rather than through a separate and duplicating medium.

The standard case offered as an example of how the Electric Home and Farm Authority is expected to work is as follows:

Mrs. Jones will go to an existing dealer in electrical appliances in her home town and select a typical piece of farm equipment such as a portable motor or water pump or other accessory. She will sign appropriate papers and the dealer, after her credit has been passed on, will transmit these papers to the Electric Home and Farm Authority, which will pay the dealer in cash and the dealer's responsibility except as to contingent credit losses, will be through. Delivery will then be made to Mrs. Jones.

In order for the plan to be open to the dealer and to Mrs. Jones, it will be necessary that the local electric company shall have submitted rates to the E. H. F. A. which meet that agency's approval as being low enough to make the use of such appliances feasible for people of small income. Each month the local electric company will add to Mrs. Jones' bill for electric energy an item which in four years will amortize the total commitment for appliances together with interest. These collections the electric company will remit to the Electric Home and Farm Authority.

The capital of the Electric Home and Farm Authority consists of \$1,000,000 capital stock held for the United States by the three members of the Board of the T. V. A., and \$10,000,000 of credit extended by the R. F. C.

It is contemplated that the operation of the Electric Home and Farm Authority at the outset will be confined to the Tennessee Valley and immediately adjacent territory. The limits of operation of this corporation are yet to be defined. It is quite possible that after the Electric Home and Farm Authority has been in operation for some time its field of activity may be extended to include a wider area. The President has indicated that he would like to have the Electric Home and Farm Authority to operate at first in the Tennessee Valley before decision is reached as to the possibility of extending its operations throughout the United States.

THE NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY EXPERIMENT

One definite goal of the Tennessee Valley Authority is that those projects involving the physical development of the area shall be selfliquidating, both projects financed by the government and those by private funds. The fertilizer, the power, and the agricultural-industrial pro-

grams, which are absorbing by far the major part of the initial federal investment, are all based on this principle.

There have been indications that people in other parts of the country regard the Tennessee Valley development as a purely sectional matter, a sort of present to the area. Every section of the nation is in urgent need of patterns and working principles by which agriculture and industry can play balanced roles in bringing a more fruitful life.

The economic necessity for increased employment in industry relative to employment in agriculture, referred to on another page, exists in all industrialized areas. Surplus rural population throughout the country is faced with the following alternatives: (1) accept a still lower living standard below a tolerable minimum; (2) live wholly or partly by some form of public aid; or (3) find a means of obtaining some income from industry or associated occupations.

The absence of facts upon which any national program for the solution of this problem could be based was one of the reasons for setting up an experimental region within the nation from which results applicable to the entire nation might be obtained. This particular region was chosen because it was peculiarly adapted for the experiment. In the words of Director H. A. Morgan:

The wide range of climate and soil in the Tennessee Valley region, whose topography includes altitudes of six thousand feet to nearly sea level, an extreme range of water-sheds and slopes, the diversity and extent of mineral resources, a homogeneity of population rarely found, an excess of rural population anxious to remain on their farms and work in decentralized industrial units, an annual rainfall assuring forest and sod cover of over-tilled areas, and a generous source of power and phosphate offer an unparalleled laboratory for study.

Public policy in the use of land, regional planning, and political science heretofore have lacked methods of procedure based upon sound and established facts. Hence the creation of the Tennessee Valley experimental area is an unusual and timely action on the part of the President and Congress.

The expenditures for the construction of the dams, transmission lines, and the readjustment of the plants already in existence at Muscle Shoals for experiments in power production and distribution and the more economical development of plant food are looked upon by the inhabitants of the Valley neither as new sources of wealth for

the region nor as a measure of temporary relief of unemployment. They have accepted the obligation of offering every channel of service to the country for the ascertainment of needed facts in order that President Roosevelt and his successors, our present Congress and those to follow, and generations of the future will be able to work together on a national scale for the betterment of American citizens.

This project is fundamentally a search for

facts and a demonstration of working principles upon which national progress might be based. It points the way for the adjustment of population as between industry and agriculture, and it suggests a method by which the liberties of individuals can be preserved for this and future generations. There is no field in which such facts and demonstrations are more urgently needed, both by this region and by the nation.

FROM CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

THE ECONOMIC QUESTION

"The mountaineer can usually take what he has and do with it better than the man from outside. The mountaineer did not lose his income, because he had no income." . . . "We must make a distinction between the mountaineer and his brother in the industrial field. I have worked in industrial areas where the industry has closed down. The people are mountaineers, but transplanted mountaineers. The taxpayers in our county can not begin to take care of those who will be paupers when the C. W. A. stops. This problem is found in all the industrial sections. We must do something in these areas where we have many stranded families. The mountaineers can solve their own problems in the rural areas with guidance, perhaps, but it would be impossible for them to solve the problem of industrial families." . . . "Most of our present relief is like putting a poultice on a wooden leg. We have about run out of poultices and haven't anything to show for it yet."

. . . "Where you have a group of people living on farms where there is not any bottom land, farms which produce approximately \$27.00 per family, the problem has often been increased by the return of people who had once moved out to manufacturing areas and returned with bad times. After making a survey of such a region, Dr. Nicholls said, 'If peasantry will lift these people, then I am for peasantry.' We must consider local problems and not try to make a general statement."

THE CHURCH

"What do you think is the chief cause of the mountain church not being able to satisfy the religious need of the people?" . . . "I think it is obsolete. In many regions, too, we have a group of men who are ministers of the church, but who are long on emotion and very short on ethics, and have caused the church to fall into disrepute. My suggestion is to get ministers of the same denomination to go into those communities, who would have the ability to try to build up the church. If that is impossible, I do not think it would be wrong for ministers of another faith to go in and try. If nothing is done, we shall find that the entire religious life has passed out of the people. The religion must be brought to meet the needs of the present day."

TRANSPLANTING

"What is the hope of successfully transplanting population groups? One grants that the history of such projects is not very bright. I should like to know whether there have been any hopeful instances in past history that can be taken into consideration now? If our project is impossible, what can be done with them if they can not be moved? I am thinking of deserted mining camps." . . . "I am not sure it is wise to shift a family from one type of place to another, for which they are not prepared. Then too, they are apt to leave many home ties." . . . "A large portion of families in my section who have had to sell their

(Continued on Page 32)

MOUNTAIN LIFE AND WORK

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STEPS FORWARD

At the last session of the Conference several practical steps were taken which will advance projects begun during the previous year. It was decided that six members of the Conference should be chosen by the Executive Board to cooperate with a similar committee of the Interdenominational Regional Committee appointed for the Southern Mountains by the Home Missions Council to set up regional conferences.

Plans are now on foot to develop regional conferences in counties directly affected by the building of Norris Dam. Word has recently been received that the Rural Church Conference of Kentucky, where the experimental regional conference was held last year at Quicksand, has endorsed the project and is looking forward to cooperating in the next meeting at Quicksand. Miss Dingman will be glad to hear from others who feel the need of such conferences for their own localities, and who wish to help establish them.

Great interest has been shown in another study tour. It was suggested at the Knoxville meeting that a more intensive tour over a smaller area be developed, but this will depend on the interests of those wishing to join the tour.

OUR RECREATION PROJECT

At the conference Mr. Frank H. Smith gave a report of the recreational work in mountain schools and community centers in which he is engaged under the joint auspices of the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers and the American Association for Adult Education. By means of a questionnaire Mr. Smith had secured from the heads of the eight institutions in which by March 1 this recreational program had been conducted, an evaluation of the activities. In every instance it was said that the benefits of the program justified the temporary reorganization of school schedules; also that community games, singing games, or some other recreational features had as a result become established in each school and community center. One answer said: "We have continued playing the singing games and are expecting to work some of them into our Commencement program at the close of School. A club of girls is working on a Punch and Judy show."

Some comments on singing games, musical games, and other non-competitive games were made: (a) They provide a natural stimulus to promote better fellowship; (b) they are invaluable as a simple medium of artistic expression; (c) they provide a wholesome relationship between boys and girls; (d) they develop grace, poise, and ease of manner; (e) they are the very best agency for reducing problems of discipline.

Some evaluations of story-telling and play-production were offered: (a) it is helpful to know how to develop a story; (b) those participating are given an outlet of self-expression; (c) to the hearer these activities give knowledge. The production convinces; it entertains; (d) most helpful is the opportunity when given to shy, inarticulate people. One question of the questionnaire was: "What contribution is your school in a position to make in promoting recreational activities in your community?" In replying, the head of a school said:

"To share actively in clubs, which we find are the easiest and most effective means of controlling the difficulties in open gatherings; teach games; encourage local students; give demonstrations in public schools; teach local groups where desire is expressed."

In conclusion Mr. Smith said that although he had found a deep hunger for social activities among young people in the mountains, in many

communities there are at present very few constructive and wholesome recreational opportunities.

After Mr. Smith's report was presented, representatives of schools visited by him, who were present at the meeting, expressed their appreciation of the work and their eagerness that it be continued. It was then voted by the Conference that the work be carried on again during the coming year if possible.

FROM CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

(Continued from Page 30)

property have moved out into other sections, spent their money, and are now destitute. We have rather a tragic problem." . . . "If the miners were willing to move once to better their condition, they will be willing to move to better themselves again." . . . "I am from the dam area where people are being moved out. They are willing and intensely interested in moving." . . . "Most subsistence homestead projects have many more applications than can be granted, showing the general interest." . . . "In the Smoky Mountain National Park, buying out the farmers made it possible for many of the mountain people to move out. These people secured good prices for their mountain land and were generally pleased to sell out and move to adjacent counties where they got better land in more level country." . . . "In Greensboro, N. C., the mills shut down and fifty families were transplanted back to the farms. The moving was supervised. A case-worker helped to guide them for a couple of years. Only one of those fifty families had failed to make good." . . . "One of the biggest problems of the Tennessee Valley Authority is the flooding of good farm land. About 1500 families will have to be moved to new locations. The moving will be supervised and done in an orderly way, with

a case-worker to follow up those families."

TOWARD RICHER LIVING

"Whatever point you undertake to work out with the mountain people, you need to understand them. Study them carefully, and you will find a reason for every attitude. Work out the program with the people; that is the only way to make progress." . . . "We need to create within the mountains themselves a sense of responsibility, a sense of the ability of the people to create a satisfying life for themselves." . . . "A few years ago we used to take consolation in the fact that the young people in the mountains could be taken care of in the cities. This is no longer true. We must find means, not only to rehabilitate the older generation, but to take care of the young people." . . . "Probably the soundest approach to teaching creative living is through recreation. Let us face the fact that people want to have a good time." . . . "We grow so absorbed in our work that we do not realize the importance of a vase of flowers, a pretty bit of color, and neat buildings." . . . "I am afraid many of us as workers lack a sense of beauty. Sometimes we do not see the importance of beauty in the church. We must teach beauty in all phases of everyday life."

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